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On the 27th of July, 1796, a Pension was granted for life to *Lady Augusta Murray*, (lately called DUCHESS OF SUSSEX,) the amount of which pension is 1,200 pounds a year; and on the 24th October, 1806, another Pension was granted to the same person, under the name of *Lady D'Amiland*, for life, which last Pension is, in amount, 1478 pounds a year; both pensions together making 2,678 pounds a year.

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DUKE OF YORK.

(Continued from page 224.)

TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

THE attention of every person in this country is now, with more or less eagerness, directed towards what is going on in the House of Commons. By a sort of involuntary motion, all eyes have been turned that way. There is no man that now seems to think it of any consequence what is done in the way of war, or of negotiation. All of us seem to feel, that, until this affair be settled, it would be absurd to waste our thoughts upon any question connected with our interests, or our honour, as a nation.—So far the state of the public mind is what it ought to be. But, while all are exclaiming against the infamous corruptions, plunderings and robberies; the insulting profligacy, that have now been *proved* to exist; while all mouths are open upon these topics, there has appeared no attempt to draw the attention of the people to the effect which these abominations have upon them, in their individual and family capacity.—Be this my task, by way of introduction to such other matters and remarks as it appears to me necessary, at this time, to submit to those, who bear the burdens, which arise from the corruptions that have now been proved to exist.—To persons, not accustomed to go beneath the surface of things, it may possibly appear, that it makes little difference to the people, whether commissions and offices be sold or not, because, in whatever manner they be disposed of, the expence of them must still be the same. But, it requires but very little reflection to perceive, that this proposition is opposed to the truth; for, in the first place, it is evident, that the person who purchases a post, will seek for reimbursement, either in the positive profits of the post, or in a deduction from the time or the services, which ought to be spent or rendered in that post. In the case of DOWLER, for instance, who paid, it appears,

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to Mrs. Clarke, large sums of money for his appointment as a Commissary, is it not clear that he would not fail, during the execution of his office, to keep in view the money which he had paid for that office? And is it not equally clear, that he would miss no opportunity of reimbursement? Indeed, it is impossible to believe, that a person, who has obtained his office by the means of a bribe, whatever the nature of that bribe may be, whether consisting of money or of a vote, will ever refrain from plundering, from any other motive than that of the fear of detection. In such a case, all the effects of morality, all the influence of sentiments of honour, are completely lost to the public. That which is “conceived in sin” and brought forth in corruption, must naturally be productive of wicked and mischievous deeds.—Now, then, the money which DOWLER paid to Mrs. Clarke we must consider as coming, through the exercise of his office, out of our pockets, whence it has first been taken by the tax-gatherer. To this we must add the probable further sums, which a man who had obtained his office by a bribe would be likely to appropriate to himself; and, when we see to what extent this system of bribery has prevailed, we shall not be surprised at the immense amount of the sums which we are annually called upon to pay on account of the Commissaries department.—In the case of offices, which are merely military, the mode of our suffering is different; but, it is not less real than in cases more immediately connected with money transactions. If the office be obtained by money, when no money ought to be paid, then there will be, by leaves of absence, or other means, a deduction of services due to the public; and, if money ought to be paid to the public, which is paid to a kept mistress, then the public clearly loses the amount, which ought to go to its credit. But, the chief evil here is, that unworthy and base persons are preferred before per-

sons of a different description; that the vile and corrupt vermin, who hang about the metropolis, step over the heads of veterans, who have passed their lives in toils and dangers; that boys become entrusted with commands, which ought never to be in any hands but those of men of experience; that the comfort, the happiness, the *backs*, and the *lives*, of our brave soldiers are committed to the power of such men as Captains Donovan and Sandon and Col. French; to the power of men, whose promotion to that power has been obtained by means such as those which have now been brought to light.—Hence *desertions*; hence the *sufferings of the soldiers*; hence *blunders and failures without end*; and hence the millions upon millions, which all these annually cost us. To be a good military officer requires, not only bravery, but *wisdom, experience, and integrity*; a good understanding and a just mind. And, can these be expected in men, who have gained their posts by bribes given to a kept mistress?—Besides these, there is a positive loss in money. We pay for *more officers* than we need pay for if this infamous system did not exist. We see, in the case of one of the MALINGS, that he became a *captain* without ever having been on *military duty*. We see that others have been officers, while at *school*. Well, then, less officers are necessary; or, if that be not the case, the service must suffer, and the public must lose, by the absence of so many of those whom it pays.—I cannot refrain here from mentioning the case of MR. ADAM'S son, who became the Lieut.-Colonel of a regiment *at the age of twenty one years*. After he was appointed an *Ensign*, he was sent to *school*. His father tells us of his *feats in Holland*. A second commission, that of *Lieutenant*, was given him *while at school*. At the age of *sixteen* he went to Holland; and here his father says he distinguished himself in the command of a body of men usually committed to a Lieutenant. "They were from the Supplementary Militia, and required a great deal of management." Did they so? Then, was it well to commit them to a *boy of sixteen*, just come from school? Should it not have been a *man* to have the command of such men? At twenty-one years of age no person in the world can be fit for a Lieutenant Colonel. He has the absolute command of a *thousand men*. The comfort, the happiness, the morality, the *backs* of a thousand men depend upon his wisdom and integrity. A person to be intrusted with such a charge, ought to be

sober, considerate, compassionate, and yet firm to execute justice. Where are these to be found united with the passions inseparable from youth? Besides, is it possible, that the other officers, captains old enough, perhaps, to be his father, and who have every fair claim to prior promotion, can cordially submit to the command, and, occasionally, to the *reproof*, of a boy of twenty-one? What would Mr. Adam say, if he had to plead before a *judge* of twenty-one years of age? Yet, the Lieut.-Colonel of a Regiment (for the Colonel never commands) has powers still greater than those of a judge. He has, in the course of a year, to decide upon the cases of, perhaps, two thousand offences. He has to judge of characters; to weigh the merits of candidates for promotion; his smile is encouragement, and his frown disgrace; it depends upon him, whether the soldier's life be a pleasure or a curse. Is not all this too much for the age of twenty-one years?—Every desertion from the army is a loss of fifty pounds to the country; and, how many of these losses *must* arise from the want of wisdom and experience in commanding officers?—But, the *cost*, the bare cost, of officers who do not actually serve, is immense. The younger Sheridan, for instance, has, it is notorious, been living in and about town all his lifetime. Yet, he was some time ago, a captain in a regiment serving abroad, and will now, I believe, be found upon the *half-pay list*. A return of all the officers belonging to regiments abroad, not serving with those regiments, would give us a view of the extent of this intolerable abuse. If men give money, or render secret services, for their offices, to a kept mistress, how can it be expected, that any service should be performed by them to the public? They give their money, or render secret services, for the sake of getting the *pay*. When Colonel French gave his money to Mrs. Clarke, it was with a view of getting three or four times the sum out of the taxes that we pay. We were the payers for Mrs. Clarke's *service of plate*; we paid for her *landau*; we paid for her trip to *Worthing*; we paid for her *wine glasses at a guinea a-piece*; we paid for her *boxes at the opera and the play-house*; and French and Sandon and Dowler and Knight and the rest of the bribing crew were merely the channel through which the money passed from the taxed people to her.—Oh! how many hundreds, how many thousands, of the people have suffered for her! She has stated, and no one

has attempted to disprove her statement; she has stated, in answer to the very judicious questions of LORD FOLKESTONE, that she received in money from her keeper only 1,000 pounds a year; and that this was barely sufficient to defray the expence of *servants' wages and liveries*; but, that the Duke told her, if she was *clever*, she need never want money. Twenty thousand a year was, perhaps, not sufficient to defray the amount of all her expences. Here is 20 pounds a year taken, in taxes, *from each of a thousand families*. It is the maintenance of 645 labourers' families at 12s. a week, the common wages of the South of Hampshire. It is equal to the poor-rates of about 50 parishes of England and Wales, taking those parishes upon an average. It is equal to the poor-rates of 66 parishes like this of Botley. It is equal to all the direct taxes, of every sort, of 21 or 22 parishes like this. First, the farmer is deprived, by these means, of a part of his comforts and conveniences; his house contains less of goods and displays less of hospitality; from him the deprivation descends to the labourer, whose scanty and coarse food, and want of raiment and fuel, produce, besides the pinching of hunger and cold, the miseries of disease, and which disease, the never-failing effect of hunger and filth, is spreading far and wide its baleful and hereditary effects. How many widows and other females, whose incomes admit of no nominal augmentation, have suffered, and are still suffering from this accursed system? Every penny paid to Mrs. Clarke is just so much taken out of the pockets of the people. All her "four or five men servants"; all her dashing carriages; all her wines, her music; all her endless luxuries, have been taken from the comforts of this suffering nation, as clearly as if the tax-gatherers had taken the money and paid it in to her house-keeper or her tradesmen. That which has been devoured by her crowd of footmen, waitingwomen, pimps, and bawds, would, if the system of corruption and profligacy had not existed, been left to augment the hospitality of gentlemen, the conveniences of tradesmen and farmers, and the loaf of labourers and journeymen; while those, her footmen, waitingwomen, pimps and bawds, would have been compelled to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow.—Taxation, when excessive, must produce *misery*; and especially when the taxes are applied to the purposes of luxury. It is necessary, at this time, in particular, that the people should clearly

perceive this truth. Suppose there to exist a community of a hundred persons, all of whom labour, in one way or another, *usefully* to the community. Let ten of them cease to labour, and let them live upon the labour of the other ninety; and the consequence must be, that the ninety must work one tenth harder upon the same quantity of food, and raiment, and fuel, or that each will have one tenth less than he used to have, of these necessities of life. Hence a general decrease in productions, or a general increase of the miseries growing out of labour not sufficiently fed; hence the fall of some into utter inability to supply their wants; and hence the increase of the number of paupers in this country has kept an exact pace with the increase of the taxes, or, in other words, with the increase of the number of persons who are not engaged in productive labour.

—The immense sums received by Mrs. Clarke were not devoured by her. She did not consume more food than before she was the Duke's kept mistress. But, she was enabled to keep a crowd of persons, of various descriptions, who, had they not been so maintained, must have laboured for their bread.—This is a view of the subject of which the people should never, for one moment, lose sight. This is the way, in which they are directly affected by the hellish system, which has now been *proved* to exist. From this view of it, they will not, I trust, be diverted by any attempts to induce them to attach most importance to the *meanness*, or even the *immorality*, of the parties. These are quite sufficient to excite national disgust and hatred; but, the main thing is for the people to see the *robberies*, and to be able clearly to trace to these, and such like robberies, their own privations and miseries.—Now is the time for the people to ask the revilers of SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, whether he was so very much to blame, when he told the Electors of Westminster, that no good was to be expected, till we could "tear out the leaves of the *accursed Red Book*." Col. French, and Col. Knight, and Capt. Donovan, and Capt. Sandon, and Mr. Dowler, and the rest of the numerous petticoat-patronized crew, are all to be found in that *Red Book*, the leaves of which he wished to tear out. *His* voice will, I trust, now be heard by those who were before *misted*; if, indeed, there could be any such. I trust that now, the venal declaimers about "*Jacobinism*" will no longer be able to blind the understanding of any man, however simple that

man may be. The man, who now affects to believe, that a *deep-rooted* system of corruption does not prevail, must be an arrant knave; and, of course, none but an arrant knave will affect to believe, that a *radical* reform of that system, and a *speedy* one too, is not necessary to the preservation of the throne, as well as of the remaining liberties of the people.—But, in the mean time, and, indeed, as necessarily conducive to this reform, let the people bear in mind, that it is *their money* that has been sported with; that it was not Col. French's money nor Mr. Dowler's money that the Duke of York's kept mistress took, and that was expended upon her footmen, chariots, musicians, singers, players, dancers, parasites, pimps, and bawds, but in the end, *the money of the people*. This is the important truth for them to keep in view. Let every father of a family consider how much less, from this cause, he will have to bequeath his children. When those, who formerly lived in affluence from the rent of their estates, reflect how they have been obliged to dismiss servant after servant; sell horse after horse; abridge pot after pot of the ale that formerly gladdened the heart of the comer; aye, and to cut down tree after tree, and sell acre after acre; let all such persons, when, with aching heart, they so reflect, think of Mrs. Clarke and the services of plate and the wine-glasses at a guinea a-piece and the rattling carriages and the laced-footmen and the musicians and the singing-boys and the players and the dancers and the pimps and the bawds in Gloucester Place; and let every mind in the kingdom be fixed upon the scene described by Miss TAYLOR, every tongue repeat, and every ear tingle at, the words, "*how does French behave to Darling?*" Darling! How many a widowed mother has had to pronounce that word over a child driven from beneath her roof by the penury produced by these and similar corruptions! Look into families, once respectable in point of fortune, and you find them consisting of a crowd of helpless females, unable to work and ashamed to beg, the sons all forced away, for want of the means possessed by their father, to seek a subsistence from patronage, to get back again some small portion of what their father has paid in taxes, and, in order to succeed, creeping to those whom that father would have despised; nay, perhaps, the last stake of the family is converted into a bribe for a whore, while a score of breasts are filled with anxiety lest the sum should not be

sufficient. Thus has the nation been degraded; its spirit subdued; its heart broken; and its property rendered a prey to the infamous reptiles, who, at last, stand exposed to its execrations, and who, I trust, are at no great distance from the hour of feeling the effects of its vengeance. I mean not the vengeance of a mob, but the steady, sober, deliberate vengeance of the law.

I now would fain call the attention of the people to the *altered language* and tone of the House of Commons. It will not soon be forgotten, that, when Mr. Wardle first brought forward his Charges, he was answered with the boldest defiance. From both sides of the House he heard of nothing but of *joy*, that, at last, the charges against the Commander in Chief could be met in a *tangible* shape. He was told, that a conspiracy had long existed against the illustrious House of Hanover, and that his hearers were delighted to find, that they should now have fair play against that conspiracy. He was told, that he had incurred "*a heavy Responsibility*;" and that the result must be "*infamy*" upon either the accused or the accuser." Mr. Perceval said, that, "was the present moment suitable for the statements, he believed he could enter into particulars, which would convince the House, that it was impossible to bring these alledged charges home to His Royal Highness." He said, in the name of the Duke, "that his wish was, that the investigation should be most complete and public; that there was nothing His Royal Highness so particularly deprecated as any secret or close discussion of these charges; that, standing as that illustrious personage did, on the fairness of his character, and the fulness of the evidence he was enabled to produce in refutation of these charges, he was most particularly anxious to appear before the country, acquitted by the most accurate and severe inquiry." All this bold language, this tone of menace, have been dropped for some days; and, it seems to be almost forgotten, that Mr. Wardle ever was under any very "*heavy responsibility*." Nay, Mr. York, who spoke so roundly of the *Jacobin Conspiracy against the illustrious House of Brunswick*, seems to have begun to think, that all the "*talking*" was not without some foundation. Mr. Canning says not a word, neither does Lord Castlereagh; Mr. William Smith, the famous Whig-Club member, thinks it no longer necessary to *disclaim* Mr. Wardle, in the name of his party;



Mr. Whitbread is no longer in a passion at being accused of a connection with the accusing member; and the elder Sheridan talks no more of his dissuasive messages to that gentleman.—But, what is more worthy of the attention of the people is this, that *now, now, now, now*, behold! the East-India Company people have moved for a Committee up-stairs to inquire into the sale of *Writerships* and *Cadetships*, when it is notorious to all the world, that, for many, many years past, these offices have been *advertised* for sale as openly, and almost as frequently, as Packwood's Razor-strops or Spilsbury's pills. How comes it, that we never before heard of any Committee up-stairs, or down-stairs, or in any part of the house, to inquire into these matters? What has alarmed the honour of the Directors now? Why *now*, for the first time? Oh! it is very surprizing, that now, all of a sudden, this horror for jobbing should have seized them! For eight years I have been a witness of these advertisements. Every one must be satisfied, that, during that time, the traffic has been going on; and yet, not a whince have we heard from the tender Directors till now.—Still more worthy of the people's attention is what dropped from Mr. Perceval the other night, after the grand explosion, including the *Church* as well as the *State*. He said, he had, for some time past, had it in mind to *bring in a bill to prevent this scandalous jobbing*. We thought, that you and your colleagues, Sir, said, but the other day, that we were *libellers*; that we had formed a conspiracy for writing and talking down all that was great and noble in the country. Why pass a bill, if what we said was libellous? Aye, a bill, Oh! a bill; by all means *a bill*! But, it does come somewhat of the latest. Yes, certainly "*a day after the fair*." If you had talked of a bill of this sort long ago, instead of charging the press with being libellous; instead of instituting a long list of government prosecutions *against those who complained of jobbing*; then, indeed, we should have received your notification with applause; but, now, Sir, we do not. My neighbours, in the country, are even so irreverent as to laugh at it; and, though I caution them against the consequence of giving way to ridicule upon state affairs, they still persist in comparing it to maternal precautions when the girl's shape convicts her of bastardy. These country people are slow to move. They are as obstinate in their credulity as they are in their want of faith. At last they see their situation

plainly; and I venture to say, that nothing short of a fair, full, entire, radical reform of abuses and corruptions will now satisfy them. The farmers have read about Mr. Beazley, and Drs. Glasse and O'Meara. They did not like *tithes* before; and, be you assured, that they will not now like them any thing the better. They are a strange people; always judging of what they cannot get a sight of by what they can get a sight of. If they see a full sack, for instance, and perceive wheat dropping out, through an accidental hole, in the sack, they conclude that the sack is filled with wheat. This logick they apply to clerical preferments, and look upon Mr. Beazley, the *no-popery pamphlet writer*, and Drs. Glasse and O'Meara, as the grains that have dropped out.—"*A bill*" will never satisfy such people. They do not so easily perceive the virtues of such a bill. In short, they heard enough of bills to check the Treasurer of the Navy. They want something to make them *see and feel*, that they *cannot* again be robbed by infamous jobbers; and, until they have this, bills will be of no use. But, what is to become of *all the past*? Or is this bill to be, by implication, a bill of *indemnity* for the past? Is there *no law* to punish the jobbing rascals? Bless us! no law, of any sort, by which they can be come at? Why not apply to them that most convenient and accommodating thing, called the *law of libel*? Give me a file of news-papers, or go to Peel's Coffee-House, and I will engage you shall have some thousands of advertisements for the purchase and sale of offices under government. I have, several times, pointed out to the ministry these scandalous advertisements. I have, more than once, taken them for mottos, a sort of text, whereon to preach a political sermon to them. I have asked why the authors of those advertisements were not called upon. No notice has ever been taken of my representations. Nay, on the very day when Mr. Wardle's Charges were brought forward; so late as that day, and after the charges had been stated, Mr. Perceval seemed to think very lightly of the matter. He said, that, *in this great metropolis*, there were "*foolish people*," who were, by such advertisements, induced to throw away their money; but, as to the actual sale of places, he scouted the idea. Not a word did he, even at that late day, say about *a bill to prevent jobbing*. He now tells the House, that he has, for *some time*, thought of this bill. It is not for a very long time, it seems. On the ~~country~~, the

whole of the language of himself and his colleagues was the language of *defiance*. Every thing they said was in *opposition* to the charges of Mr. Wardle; not a soul of them allowed, that corruption existed in any shape. No, the whole cry was, that a conspiracy was on foot "against every thing *great* and *noble*;" that Jacobinism was still alive, and that what the late Pitt said of its malignant qualities was now verified; in short, every thing that could be said was said to make us believe, that the charges had had their rise in the licentiousness of the press, and in a conspiracy against all the establishments of the country, not excepting the kingly office. *Denial* was the word; all was denial and defiance; and not a breath about a bill to prevent jobbing. Where have the 658 members of the House been living, that they, that no one of them, ever saw cause for such a bill before? It is strange, passing strange, that this talk about a bill, this plain acknowledgment that jobbing does exist, should never have been made *before*. Has it sprung up, all at once, under Mr. Perceval and Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh? Oh, no! It is a very deep-rooted plant. Aye, and a bill will not grub it up. Of that the whole nation is convinced.

It is of the greatest importance for the people, by which term I mean all those who are not in the receipt of the public money, or any part of it, to bear in mind what *passed at the time when Mr. Wardle first brought his Charges forward*. I was aware of this; I knew that every word then uttered would become of more and more consequence as the investigation proceeded. For this reason, I was induced to depart from my usual practice, and to insert the debate entire. As it cannot be too often read, I will now remind the public, that the first part will be found at page 163, the continuation at page 196, and the conclusion, *if I have room*, at the close of this sheet. To this debate, as to a *standard*, I shall constantly refer. It is by *looking back*, that we are enabled to judge of what we have to expect. We are too apt always to forget the *past*. When any thing of interest arises, we attach our attention solely to that; but this is wrong; for, in fact, we see but half the thing without taking into view what has gone before. —This being my opinion, I will now endeavour to lead the abused people back to the beginning of the formal, public complaints, made in behalf of the Duke of York against the press; and, this is the

more necessary, because it seems to me, that every public writer appears to have forgotten them. —For more than a year past there have been, occasionally, little dirty pamphlets, complaining of *libels* against the Duke of York; but, they were so insufferably stupid, that no man of sense thought it worth his while to notice them.

—In the month of August, however, when there had been published some pretty bold paragraphs against the Duke's being sent to Spain, there was published a pamphlet, entitled "A PLAIN STATEMENT OF THE CONDUCT OF THE MINISTRY AND THE OPPOSITION TOWARDS HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF YORK." It was in this pamphlet, as the public will not soon forget, that it was stated, that there existed "a *family council*, a *domestic cabinet*," to protect the king even against his ministers; that the Queen was at the head of this council, and the Duke of York a leading member of it. —The pamphlet states, in substance, that the *late* ministry wished, and even attempted, greatly to *abridge the power* of the Duke of York; and, observe it well, the writer adds, "that his royal highness deemed it necessary to throw himself upon the protection of his ROYAL FATHER; and that the proposed measure of the Grenville party was thus defeated by the immediate interposition, not to say the COMMAND of his Majesty." It is of great importance; it is of incalculable importance, that we now look back to these publications. But, the part of this memorable pamphlet (the writer of which has never been prosecuted) adapted more immediately to our present purpose, is that which relates to the complaints, made by this writer against *both ministries* for NOT INTERFERING WITH THE NEWS-PAPERS, in order to prevent publications against the Duke. Every word of this part of the pamphlet is now to be re-perused and treasured up in the memory. Here is the passage, and I do beseech the people of this kingdom to read it over and over again. — "These incessant attacks could not but very seriously affect his royal highness, and after having maintained a dignified reserve as long as human patience could support it, he at length found it necessary to demand an inquiry into his conduct. —Nothing could be so ridiculous as the affected astonishment of the ministry upon this demand. Who has presumed to attack the interest or the reputation of your royal highness? There are laws in the country to which your royal highness may appeal. Why should there be a

“ formal inquiry where there is no formal charge? Why should the ignorance or malignity of the daily papers be raised into the consequence and dignity of having called forth an official inquiry? If any thing has been said or written against your royal highness, of which all his majesty’s ministers must solemnly disavow even any knowledge, the Attorney General should be ordered forthwith to commence a prosecution; and if your royal highness be unwilling personally to give your instructions to that officer of the crown, *they may be given to the treasury, by your royal highness’s secretary.* But his majesty’s ministers would think themselves deficient in a due sense of what they owed to their own dignity as his majesty’s counsellors, if they adopted a popular rumour as sufficient grounds for an official inquiry.”

—Well, this was pretty well, I think. What *more* did this writer wish them to do? He will tell us directly, in speaking of what he says has been the conduct of the present ministry, upon a similar occasion.—“ It may be urged, indeed, in reply to all that has been said above, that the attacks complained of, have not been made with the knowledge, and still less with the consent or concurrence of his majesty’s ministers: that they are all of them too honourable men to concur in such a system of anonymous attack: that such a system, moreover, could answer no conceivable purpose: that the ministry are too strong in public opinion and confidence, to require the assistance of such unworthy arts. In a word, that such a persecution, and so indirectly put into operation, can have no purpose, and therefore that it is a reasonable inference that it has no existence.—To this it must be answered, that when his royal highness made similar representations, under the late ministry, the answer was uniformly, that his majesty’s ministers were totally ignorant of the very existence of the facts alleged; that the law was open to his royal highness, and that the Attorney General might be instructed to prosecute; that they had no influence or authority over the free press; and that they advised his royal highness to hold all such libellous accusation in the contempt which it merited.—It is notorious, however, notwithstanding all this disavowal, that the free press, as it is called, and as it should be, is almost *equally divided between the two leading parties in the country, and that the*

ministers and the opposition have the same influence, NOT TO SAY AUTHORITY, over them as if they were THE ACTUAL EDITORS. Has any instance ever occurred, in which a billet from Downing-street has been refused admission, and if required, an ample confirmatory comment, through all the Treasury papers? And will any, either of the ministry or the opposition, declare, upon their honour as gentlemen, that they have no authority or weight with the public papers? Whence does it happen, that the honour of parties is not the same with that of individuals, and that a party will assert conjunctively, what every individual of that party knows to be false? Why is there not the same point of honour with a party as with an individual?—The indecent language in the daily papers, is certainly not from the mouth of the ministers. It is impossible that men of honourable stations should descend to such terms, and to such anonymous acrimony. We are persuaded that his royal highness most fully acquits his majesty’s ministers of any immediate participation in such libels. But *the encouragement, the countenance, the impunity, of these libellers, is the efficient cause of the whole.* Would the Editors of the Daily Papers thus write, *unless they were persuaded that they were advocating a cause generally pleasing to their patrons?* As to a legal remedy for this torrent of libel and invective, though a jury of his countrymen would visit the libellers with merited punishment, his royal highness, we believe, will not be lightly persuaded to introduce a practice which he has never approved. There have been perhaps already too many government prosecutions, and a precedent may thus be constituted, which, much to the injury of the free press, may be hereafter acted upon. *Add to this that there may be innumerable allusions, innuendoes, and even assertions, which may have substance enough to wound, and that most deeply, but are not palpable enough for the visitation of the law.* The libellers of his royal highness have been too long practised in their school, to commit themselves to the hands of a jury. Let any man of honest feelings read some of the cold-blooded articles which have lately appeared in many of the daily papers, and then answer, if his indignation be not moved by their savage malignity—yet are these libels conceived in terms so studiously picked and culled, as to elude

“the just vengeance of the law.—How many subjects, moreover, are there which, however grossly offensive to all honourable feeling, cannot be produced to the publicity of a legal trial. Let any man put it to his own mind—how many slanderous reports are daily in circulation to the ruin of the peace and character of their unhappy object, but for which the sufferer is yet unwilling to make his appeals to the laws of his country. *There is a necessary and indiscriminating publicity in law, from which a mind of any DELICACY cannot but avert.* His royal highness has indeed suffered much, but he will suffer still more, we should think, before he can persuade himself to call on the laws of his country.”—So, here we have an expression of this writer’s wishes. He seems to allow, that nothing has been said of the Duke that even our libel law can lay its fangs upon, or, at least, with a fair chance of success; and, therefore, as the newspapers are, as he says, as completely at the command of the two parties, as if the leaders of those parties were the actual editors; and as, with regard to the Treasury papers, “a billet from Downing Street is never refused admittance, accompanied, if required, by an ample confirmatory comment,” he would have had orders issued from Downing Street, to those papers, to insert certain billets and to refuse others, relating to the Duke of York.—This writer must be an enemy of the Duke, under the mask of friendship; for is it possible to form an idea of any thing more low, more mean, more shabby, more scurvy, more dirty, more base, than going to a ministry, and asking them to obtain the publication or the suppression of paragraphs, respecting him, in prints, which he must regard as being edited by the most venal of mankind? As if he had said to himself: no; the law will not do; the law cannot find any hold in the publications against me, and beside I do not like the publicity of law; I will, therefore, have recourse to corruption; I will, by the means of influence purchased with the public money, get a good word from those whom I despise. This is what this writer imputes to the Duke of York, and this he does under the mask of friendly compassion. This he does under the pretence of defending the royal chieftain against the attacks of his calumniators. I do not believe that any act more base was ever before imputed to any human being. What, go sneaking to the ministry to beg of them to speak a good word for

him to the editors of the newspapers! Foh! it is so rank, it so stinks of meanness, that one’s bowels are disordered at the thought, especially when imputed to a modern “CORIOLANUS.” I am not for appeals to the law, respecting matters of this sort; but, something should certainly be done by the real friends of the Duke of York, to convince the world, that this part at least, of the pamphleteer’s statements is false. I, for my part, shall anxiously wait for the contradiction, and shall hasten to give it to the world. What! (I cannot get it out of my mind) go to the ministry to supplicate their interference with the public papers! It is such an abominable story; such atrocious slander, that surely it will be speedily contradicted.—Such is the passage, and such were my remarks upon it at the time. To this the writer added, in a very positive and peremptory tone, that the ministry and opposition, *must*, when parliament met, both DISAVOW the attacks of the press upon the Duke. How far this positive prediction, not to call it a threat, has been fulfilled, I leave the people to judge, when they have again carefully looked over the debate upon Mr. Wardle’s Charges, bearing in mind, at the same time, the disavowal of Mr. W. Smith, in the name of his party, the anger of Mr. Whitbread, at being suspected to have given encouragement to Mr. Wardle, and the declaration of Mr. Sheridan, relative to a foul “conspiracy.”—Here then, People of England, you have seen the origin of all these complaints against the press; I mean the first formal published complaint. Since that publication MAJOR HOGAN’S Pamphlet edited by the able pen of Mr. Finnerty, has appeared. In consequence of that pamphlet many prosecutions by the Attorney General have been commenced. Major Hogan’s pamphlet boldly speaks of *petticoat promotions*; it states, that the Major, who is *proved*, by letters from most respectable superiors, to be a man of long and very meritorious services, told the Duke, that his long-sought promotion might have been obtained, at a reduced price, if he had, like others, chosen to disgrace himself by applying to petticoat influence; that the Major was ready to produce to the Duke proof that promotions were thus disposed of; that the Duke made no answer to him; and that he (Major Hogan) has never been called on for his proof. There could be no harm at all in the Major’s saying, that he stated this to the Duke; the harm consisted in his stating,

that the never stated richly the di was to villain ly disg army knowled which been p —It pamphl all over the att foresaw must fin that que been a portanc response than the were no tions M vender volved, the dat ward h many in the Wardle inquiri and, v suppor comple name insulte to the with u were s paralle citly s he gav his wi possibl sider o were, what nected to be that so port t breath at bes dure, s from a with d bility’ himse “jaco

that the Duke made him no answer, and never called for his proofs; and, *if this statement was false*, it was very wicked and richly deserving of punishment; because the direct and inevitable tendency of it was to cause it to be believed, that such villainous influence, influence so manifestly disgraceful and injurious to both the army and the public, was used *with the knowledge and connivance of the Duke*, than which a heavier charge could not have been preferred against mortal existing.

—It must be confessed, that this pamphlet had a wonderfully great effect all over the country. I recommended it to the attention of my readers; because I foresaw, that, whether true or false, it must finally bring to an open discussion, that question, which had, for several years, been agitated in private, and of the importance of which question I from my correspondence, was better able to judge than the public in general.—*Prosecutions*

were now resorted to, in which prosecutions Mr. Finnerty, and the printer and vendors of Major Hogan's pamphlet are involved, and of course, were so involved at the date of Mr. Wardle's bringing forward his charges. But, in the meanwhile, many people appear to have been busy in their inquiries; and, at last Mr. Wardle, who had been successful in his inquiries, comes before the parliament, and, without applying to any party for support, or assistance, boldly makes the complaint, and prefers the charges, in the name of a burdened, an injured, and insulted people.—Now then, we come to the *reception* which those Charges met with upon their first appearance. They were stated with a degree of frankness unparalleled. The accuser not only explicitly stated the nature of the several cases; he gave the details; and he even named his witnesses; leaving to the accused every possible advantage, especially if we consider of what description those witnesses were, what was their situation in life, and what was their manifest interest as connected with the cases whereon they were to be called, it being almost impossible that scarcely any one of them should support the charges, without, in the same breath, proclaiming their own infamy, or, at best, their meanness.—This procedure, so frank, so honest, so manifestly free from all desire to take advantage, was met with observations on the "*heavy responsibility*" to which the accuser had exposed himself; with charges against unnamed "*Jacobin conspirators*," who had formed a

settled scheme for writing and talking down the Duke of York, the army, and all the establishments in the country; with the severest censure upon the press, the recent "*licentiousness*" of which was represented as surpassing that of all former times, and the benefits of the freedom of which were, in the opinions of very good men, overbalanced by the evils of its licentiousness; with representations of the *difficulty* of producing *convictions* for *obvious* libels. Nor, must we fail to keep fresh in our minds, that, just before the parliament met, and while so many persons were under government-prosecution for alleged libels upon the Duke of York, we saw daily advertised in all the news-papers, "*THOUGHTS ON LIBELS, ON JURIES, and on the DIFFICULTIES of PRODUCING CONVICTION in the case of libel*," which Thoughts were "*dedicated to the Duke of York and Albany*," and published by EGERTON, the Horse-Guards bookseller. At the same time, just upon the eve of the meeting of parliament, a person of the name of WHARTON, said to be the same who is Chairman of the Committee of the House of Commons, published a pamphlet entitled, "*Remarks on the Jacobinical tendency of the Edinburgh Review*," in a letter "*to the Earl of Lonsdale*;" in which stupid Letter the author talks of *libels*, and of settled schemes, on the part of the press, to overthrow the establishments of the country.—Whereunto these publications tended was evident enough. Their natural tendency, supposing them to have answered the purpose for which they were written, was, first to create in the public mind, an alarm for the internal peace and safety of the country; to cause it to be believed, that, somewhere or other, there was a conspiracy brooding against the government; that this conspiracy was aided, in its diabolical views, by the press; that, of course, it was the duty of *juries* to get over the *difficulties* which had heretofore been experienced in the *producing of conviction in cases of libel*; and if all this should fail, to prepare the minds of the public for new, and still more severe laws, with respect to the press, providing a complete security for every great offender in future.—That such was the *tendency* of these publications is quite clear, and, I think, there can be very little doubt of its having been their principal, if not their sole, object. This object has, by Mr. Wardle's exertions, been, *for the present*, at least, defeated. The Lord Chancellor has declared, in his place, in the House of

Lords, that the laws in existence, relative to the press, are a sufficient check upon it. And, well might he make the declaration! For, what further checks can be devised, what greater dangers a writer or publisher can be exposed to, without establishing, at once, an imprimatur, and the power of transportation without trial, such as they have at Calcutta, I am at a loss to discover. We cannot now plead *the truth* in justification of what we write and publish. It has now been *proved*, thanks to Mr. Wardle, that there has, for years and years, been carried on a regular trade in military commissions and in appointments of all sorts. But, if I had happened to *know*, that French and Sandon gave money to Mrs. Clarke for their letter of service, and that, in consequence of that bribe, they obtained their levy from the Duke of York; if I had happened to *know* this; if I had stated it; and if I had been prosecuted by the Attorney General for the statement, I should not have been able, according to the present practice of the law, to produce, in my defence, *the proof of the truth of my statement*, nor would my accusers have been called upon for *proof of their falshood*. All that would have been requisite to my conviction would have been the proof that I was the proprietor of the paper, and a thorough opinion, in the minds of the jury, that my statement was of a sort to *hurt the reputation*, or even the *feelings*, of either of the parties; and, thus, I might have been torn from my family, and shut up in Gloucester or Dorchester jail for years, *as a sacrifice to the wounded feelings of a peculating pimp*. And yet, there are men, who have the assurance to tell us, that the press is *still too free*; and that the *difficulties* in the way of conviction, in cases of libel, are *still too great*!—Had not this, such as I have described it, been the state of the press; had not the danger of publishing truth been so great; can any one believe, that the enormities, the atrocious deeds, that have now come to light, would have been carried on for so many years? Why, I have had hundreds of letters upon the subject; but, I had no taste for either Gloucester or Dorchester jail; and, therefore, the knowledge thus communicated to me, was confined to my own indignant breast, or, at most, extended a little by the means of conversation.—If *truth* had not been a *libel*, those injuries to the nation would have been stopped in time, or, rather, they never would have had an existence. They would have been prevented by the dread of ex-

posure; but, the press being enslaved so far as not to dare to speak the truth; as not to dare to utter what might *hurt the feelings* of any one, whether guilty or not; this being so notoriously the case, there was no danger of exposure, and, of course, the corruption and profligacy went on increasing, until they arrived at the pitch in which they now appear before us.

There is one way, and that a most effectual one, of silencing the press; of silencing both *writers and talkers*; namely, by *reforming*; by taking from the people the grounds of complaint; by ceasing to wrong and to insult them. But, this is a way that never seems to have been thought of. It is all to be done by *force*; by the law, or by the bayonet. These may silence, but they never convince; they smother for a while, but they do not extinguish the fire of discontent; as the fate of all the old corrupt governments of the continent has clearly demonstrated.—Conspiracy against the *establishments*, indeed! No, no! There is no jacobinical conspiracy: it is a conspiracy of such persons as the Reverend Drs. Glasse, and O'Meara, and the Reverend Mr. Beazley, who, when they took priests orders, declared, *that they were thereunto moved by the Holy Ghost*. It is these persons, if what has been given in evidence be true; it is these, and such-like persons, who are conspiring against the established church. It is impossible, that the people should believe, that these are the *only* instances of the kind that have existed; it is impossible, that the general opinion should not be, that *many* of the clergy have been preferred by the means, which were employed in behalf of these persons; and, as the people cannot know precisely where to fix, it will necessarily follow, that their suspicions will fall upon the clergy as a *body*; and, then, who can be surprized, if the churches should become *quite*, instead of three-fourths, deserted? It is a very great hardship upon the worthy part of the clergy, that they should suffer in reputation from this cause; but, it is inevitable now, and the blame will not lie upon the people, but on those, who have carried on, who have winked at, and who have tolerated, these corruptions.—These observations apply to the army also, the general character of the officers of which must greatly suffer from what is now come to light. Who can tell which officer has, and which has not, obtained his promotion by bribing or pimping? Mr. Yorke said, there was a conspiracy to

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write down the army, through the Duke of York. What is the House of Commons at now? Is not it hard at work to pull down the reputation of the officers of the army? After this, is it possible, that the people should think, as they before thought, of rank in the military profession? Nay, is it possible, that the *non-commissioned officers and soldiers* should not have a quite new set of ideas respecting their officers? Is it not shocking, that the *backs* of hundreds of our brave countrymen should be committed to the power of a wretch, who has been base enough to purchase that power with a bribe to a kept-mistress? The case of good and honourable men, who hold offices in the army is very hard. At present it is impossible to know, who are the petticoat officers and who are not. The suspicions of the public and the soldiers must be divided amongst the whole body of officers; and the whole body must suffer accordingly. Was it not then, with good reason, that SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, in the last session of parliament, wished to provide some legal checks upon the power of the Commander in Chief?

—The same reasoning will still apply to the Royal Family itself. It is not possible, that the people should look upon that Family with the same eyes that they did before this explosion took place. First, the Duke of York is one of that family. Next, the question, *how the rest of the family never came to hear of any of these corruptions*, must, and will, pass through the mind of every man in the kingdom. I wish to guard my readers, and, as far as I am able, the people in general, from any hasty suspicions of this sort. A father and mother are, generally, the last who hear of the faults of their children. None of us would think it just to be suspected of participating in the vices of our sons and daughters. But, we may be reasonably allowed to ask, what the *advisers* of the king have been about all this time? Where they have lived, what society they have frequented, that they have never discovered the existence of any part of all that, which has now been brought to light? If there was such a *writing* and such a *talking* against the Duke of York, was it not their duty to have inquired into the matter? and, had they not all the means of coming at the truth? When they saw the statements of Major Hogan, ought they not to have sent for Major Hogan, and have examined him upon the subject? Did not their duty to the king, as his sworn advisers, demand

this at their hands? The pamphlet entitled "A PLAIN STATEMENT, &c." says, indeed, that the *late* ministry made an attempt to *abridge the power of the Duke*, and that a stop was put to their project "*by the immediate interference of the king*;" but, their duty was, to go to the king with a full and fair representation of the reasons why they wished to abridge that power. To state *painful* truths is what a faithful counsellor is wanted for. There are always people enough about a court to flatter, and to tell what is pleasing to the ear of a king; and, how many kings have we seen come tumbling from their thrones, in only a few weeks after their flatterers had taught them to believe, that all was safety!—If the king had had wise and upright advisers, should we have ever seen a grant like that mentioned in the motto to this sheet? Such advisers would not have failed to perceive, and to point out to their master, the bad impression which such a grant of the public money, at a time like the present, must have upon the minds of his people. Such advisers would have reminded him, that the people could not fail to ask what *services* this lady (though a virtuous person, and whose case is a very hard one) had performed *for them*, or for the crown, to merit such an income out of the *public* purse, at a time when the *Captains of the Navy* are supplicating for a small addition to their pay. Such advisers would have pressed upon the king, who would, we must believe, have, at once, followed their advice, to abstain from all grants, either direct or indirect, to his own family, while his people were so heavily burdened, and while fresh sacrifices of their comforts, and even necessities, were annually called for, upon the ground of their being wanted for the defence of the country against a foreign invader.—If the king had had wise and upright advisers, should we ever have seen the news-papers announcing, under the head of "*court news*," the movements of Mrs. JORDAN and her family, backward and forward, between *Bushy Park* and *St. James's Palace*? If the king had had wise and upright advisers, should we ever have seen publications, like the following, circulated through all the news-papers of the kingdom! "The Duke of Clarence's birth-day was celebrated with much splendour in Bushy Park, on Thursday. The grand hall was entirely new fitted up, with bronze pilasters, and various marble-imitations; the ceiling very correctly clouded, and the whole illuminated with some brilliant

“patent lamps, suspended from a beautiful eagle. The dining room in the right wing was fitted up in a modern style, with new elegant lamps at the different entrances. The pleasure ground was disposed for the occasion, and the servants had new liveries. In the morning the *Dukes of York's and Kent's bands arrived in caravans*; after dressing themselves and dining, they went into the pleasure grounds, and played alternately some charming pieces. The Duke of Kent's played some of the choruses and movements from Haydn's Oratorio of the CREATION, arranged, *by command of his Royal Highness*, for a band of wind instruments. About five o'clock the Prince of Wales, the Dukes of York, Kent, Sussex, and Cambridge, Colonel Paget, &c. arrived, from reviewing THE GERMAN LEGION. After they had dressed for dinner, they walked in the pleasure grounds, accompanied by the Lord Chancellor, Earl and Countess of Athlone and daughter, Lord Leicester, Baron Hotham and Lady, Baron Eden, the Attorney General, Colonels Paget and M'Mahon, Serjeant Marshall, and a number of other persons. At seven o'clock the second bell announced the dinner, when THE PRINCE took MRS. JORDAN *by the hand, led her into the dining room, and seated her at the head of the table*. The Prince took his seat at her right hand, and the Duke of York at her left; the Duke of Cambridge sat next to the Prince, the Duke of Kent next to the Duke of York, and the Lord Chancellor next to his Royal Highness. The DUKE OF CLARENCE sat at the foot of the table.—It is hardly necessary to say the table was sumptuously covered with every thing the season could afford. The bands played on the lawn, close to the dining-room window. The populace were permitted to enter the pleasure grounds to behold the Royal Banquet, while the presence of Messrs. Townsend, Sayers, and Macmanus, preserved the most correct decorum. The Duke's NUMEROUS FAMILY were introduced, and admired by the Prince, the Royal Dukes, and the whole company; an infant in arms, with a most beautiful white head of hair, was brought into the dining-room by the nursery maid. After dinner the Prince gave “The Duke of Clarence,” which was drank with three times three. The Duke gave “The King,” which was drank in a similar manner. A discharge of cannon from the lawn

“followed. “The Queen and Princesses.”—“The Duke of York and the Army.” His Royal Highness's band “then struck up *his celebrated march*.”—This article was contained in the Courier news-paper of the 3rd of August, 1806; and, as the people will have observed, many such articles have appeared since, while not one of them has been contradicted. Now, if there was any truth in such statements, would not wise and upright counsellors have advised the king to put a stop to the grounds of such statements? Must not the people, upon reading such accounts, call to mind the king's Proclamation for the suppression of Vice; and also, as if the laws were insufficient for keeping the common people in order, the erection of self-created societies for the purpose? And, will they not now ask of those pious societies, why, when they were pursuing the poor whores with their day-light lanthorns, they never thought of a lanthorn for Gloucester Place? These godly gentlemen, no small part of whom, by-the-bye, derive their incomes from the public purse, appear to have eyes so constructed as to see vice only when she is accompanied with poverty. They fish with a net that will hold nothing but the small fry.—There is one of MRS. JORDAN's sons in the navy, and another in the army. The latter has been described to me as a very little boy. A gentleman, who saw him in Spain, described him as not being much bigger than a son of mine who is only about ten years of age. He must, however, be older, and, it is probable, that he is fourteen years of age, or more. But, then, observe, he is a cornet in the tenth Regiment of Lt. Dragoons, of which the Prince of Wales is Colonel; that he is even the second cornet upon the list; and that, according to the army-list now before me, he is *senior* to four other cornets. When in Spain, he was an *aid-de-camp*, and, a gentleman who frequently had occasion to see the quarters of the dragoons, saw *his name upon a door*, signifying that the apartment was his, a mark of distinction not used by common subaltern officers. Yet, this person could, by those subalterns, and by the officers in general, be looked upon as no other than the son of MRS. JORDAN; than the son of a play-actress; than the son of a person, whom, but a day or two, perhaps, before their departure from England, several of those officers had seen, in the character of NELL JOBSON, pawing Bannister's dirty face. —Aye, Mr. Yorke, say what you like,

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these, *these* are the things that create discontent and disgust; these are the things that gall; these are the things that sting the soul; and sting they will in spite of all that can be said or preached about jacobinical conspiracies. Oh, Sir! We, surely, are not *all* jacobins; we, surely, are not *all* conspirators; but, with the exception of those, who participate in corruptions, like those that have come to light, we *all* feel alike with respect to these things. No, Sir, the "illustrious House of Brunswick" is in no danger from conspiracies amongst the people, or any part of the people. *Writers and talkers* have no power to hurt any thing established, any thing settled by law, and defended by all the constables and judges and an army to boot, unless that establishment *undermine itself*. "Philosophy," Sir Francis Burdett observed, in one of his early speeches, in answer to those who ascribed the fall of the old French government to the writings of an anti-christian philosophical conspiracy; "Philosophy has no such trophies to boast; the trophies are due solely to the corruption and profligacy of those, who have fallen a sacrifice to the vengeance of a people at first discontented, next indignant, next enraged, and at last, infuriated, urged on by a mad and indiscriminating spirit of revenge." From such a catastrophe, Sir, God preserve the Royal Family of England! But, Sir, let no part of that family disregard the feelings of the people. Let them bear in mind the words of Burke: "What a base and foolish thing it is for any consolidated body of authority to say, or to act as if it said: 'I will put my trust, not in mine own virtue, but in your patience'; I will indulge in effeminacy, in indolence, in corruption; I will give way to all my perverse and vicious humours; because you cannot punish me without ruining yourselves." These words, written in letters to be read at half a mile distance, should be seen upon the top of every public edifice. They should be imprinted on the hearts of princes, and of all persons in authority. Yet, in direct contradiction to the wise precept contained in them, we are continually asked, by the venal writers of the day: "how," if we dislike this, or that, of which we complain; "how we should like Buonaparté and his government?" Just as if it were necessary for us to have the one or the other; just as if we had no choice but that between Buonaparté and Mrs. Clarke! Of all the insults, which we have had to bear, this is the greatest. When we complain, that we

are not as our forefathers were, these venal wretches do not attempt to deny the fact, but fall to giving us a description of the state of the people in France; and look upon their triumph as being complete, when they have asserted, that it is possible for us to be worse off than we are; that there is *one nation* in the world who have *less liberty* than we. When we complain of the weight of the taxes, the answer is, that Buonaparté would *take all*; and, in short, the tenor of the whole of the writings of these venal scribes is, to silence our complaints by saying, that we must submit to any thing, *no matter what*, or that Buonaparté shall come and put chains round our legs and necks.—And is it reasoning like this, or rather, these impudent and insulting assertions, that will induce us cheerfully to give up the necessities of life, and shed our blood in the country's defence? "The country," says Burke, in the passage above quoted from; "The country, to be saved, must have warm advocates and passionate defenders, which heavy discontented acquiescence never can produce." If this proposition did not carry in itself the evidence of its truth, that truth would *now*, one would think, have been forced by experience, the teacher even of fools, upon every mind. The map of Europe laid before us, where is the spot, which does not afford an awful lesson to those, who are still disposed "to put their trust in the patience of the people?" who are still disposed to say, or to act as if they said, "we will give way to all our perverse and vicious humours, because you cannot punish us without the hazard of ruining yourselves?" On how many a spot will that map enable us to lay our fingers, where the people, whose patience had been exhausted, who had long been yielding "a heavy and discontented acquiescence," have been disposed to punish, aye, and have punished, their rulers at all hazards, and that too, without appearing to care whether or not their own ruin would be the consequence! With these lessons before them, what must we think of those whose language tends to encourage such of the great as indulge in their vicious humours; instead of warning them of their danger? These are the *real* enemies of the king's family and government; these are the real enemies of "the illustrious house of Brunswick;" these, who, when they should speak wholesome truths to them, pour in their ears the poison of flattery; these, who, when they should recommend to

them conciliating language and conduct, urge them on to reproachful words and vindictive deeds; these, who, when they should show their gratitude for the timely, the gentle, the humble, admonitions of the press, fall to loading it with accusations, and turn against it every shaft in the quiver of the law.—What would have been the course of wise counsellors, even at the late hour, when Mr. Wardle preferred the accusations? They would have begged him to stay his public proceedings; they would have verified the truth with his assistance; they would then have made, in a message from the king himself, a candid statement, to the parliament and the people, of the whole of the circumstances, however painful to state; and then, as coming from the king, they would have proposed, and at once adopted; such measures, as to the past as well as the future, as would have drawn from the people an unanimous exclamation of "*this is just.*" How different would the effect of this course have been from the effect of the course which has been pursued? How very different with respect to the whole of the government and the establishments of the kingdom, and especially with respect to the person and family of the king? All that would then have been gained, would, by this nation, never wanting in forgiveness or in gratitude, have been received as a boon; all that is now gained will be looked upon as extorted. In the former case, the candour of the proceeding would have excited confidence for the future, and would even have called forth all the milder feelings in mitigation of the past; now, let the result be what it will, suspicion will lie brooding at bottom, and, in its own justification, will still preserve the past in all its hideous and hateful colours. This is consulting human nature; but, when did ministers and courtiers consult human nature, or any thing else but their own passions, or their own immediate interests? All the old governments of the continent have clung to their corruptions, till their hold has been cut, till it has been *hacked off*. They have never begun to reform till it was too late; never till *compelled*, and who is there that feels grateful for a compulsory compliance? Such a compliance never produces reconciliation: one party hates and the other suspects: the feelings only change bosoms: it is merely a suspension of open hostilities: the contest is soon again renewed; and the final consequence is sure to be the destruction of the government, or the complete absolute slavery

of the people. Thus has it uniformly been in all the struggles between a government and a people; and I most anxiously hope, that, by turning the minds of all considerate men to thoughts on *a radical and timely reform here*, I may contribute in some small degree, towards the salvation of our once happy and still beloved country.

Botley, Wednesday, 15th Feb. 1809.

Debate of the 27th January, concluded from page 203.

He surely must be aware, that having undertaken the *responsible* task of submitting to a British House of Commons such a serious accusation, that whatever may be the issue of its deliberation; in whatever view the House shall consider the transactions which he has disclosed, whether they be refuted or substantiated, *infamy* must attach *somewhere*—either upon the accused or the accuser.—From the *system* which has been *deliberately* pursued for some time past, by the enemies of h. r. h. the Commander in Chief, he had to *congratulate* that illustrious personage, and at the same time to *thank* the hon. mover, for the opportunity of canvassing the subject upon charges preferred in a tangible shape. *Whatever result* may ensue from such accusations, it was *not to be denied*, that that royal personage had been subjected to the systematic *calumnies of a set of unprincipled libellers*; that in their vile and malignant publications he had been treated with a brutality of insult which almost made *good men hesitate in deciding, whether the value of a free discussion was not considerably depreciated by the evils of its unbridled licentiousness*. For the last six months scarce a day elapsed without some fresh attack upon his honour and his feelings. There was a co-operation of cowardice with falsehood, which far exceeded the calumnious profligacy of other times. A cowardice too of the *basest* kind, participating of the most depraved and odious qualities, deserving of that execration which the best feelings of humanity would pronounce on the base assailant of *female weakness*, because to direct unfounded attacks against *those in high authority*, was nearly similar to an attack on an *undefended woman*. It was therefore, as sincerely interested in the honour and reputation of his royal highness, that he *rejoiced* to find that this question had taken a distinct shape, and that in the due and proper place, the period for inculcation, and he was sure of exculpation, had arrived (*hear! hear!*). It

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was for parliament to give the subject the fullest inquiry, but he trusted that the hon. mover would in the first instance, without any subsequent restriction, direct his proofs to the specific objects on which his charges of that night were founded.

Mr. WHITBREAD concurred heartily in the recommendation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the most public inquiry. It was due to the elevated rank of the illustrious personage accused, and to the great interests of the country, which were so implicated in the issue. The right hon. Secretary had assumed as a fact, that such a conspiracy as he described, existed, and upon that assumption he rested all his arguments. If such a conspiracy did exist, every man must lament, that such a character, elevated in rank and influence, should be exposed to unmerited calumny.—Still it was to be presumed and hoped, that a prince of the house of Hanover would prefer even suffering under such attacks, rather than risk the liberty of that Press to which that family and the British empire owed so much. But why was this brutality of insult so long suffered to continue? Were the Attorney and Solicitor Generals asleep, and the other law officers of the crown asleep? How came it that they neglected their duty? He was ready to give them credit that the omission was not intentional. (*A laugh.*) There was one point in the speech of the right hon. Secretary from which he must dissent. It was assumed by him, that if the result should, as he trusted, acquit his royal highness, his hon. friend would be *infamous* for preferring the accusation. Such doctrine was not supported either by the spirit or usage of the constitution. If there were justifiable grounds for his charge, or if information of a strong kind was laid before him, it was his bounden duty, as an honest public servant, to act upon it in that house. In compliance with that sense of duty, his hon. friend did submit the subject to the House, and whatever might be the issue, he was convinced that not a particle of dishonour could attach to him (Mr. Wardle). There was one strong reason that it should go to a Committee of the House, which weighed particularly with him—namely, that it would be impossible to select any set of names that would satisfy this herd of libellers and calumniators, of which such mention had been made by the right hon. Secretary.

Lord CASTLEREAGH supported the opinion, that such a CONSPIRACY did exist, with the determined object of running down the characters of the princes of the blood, and through them to *destroy the monarchical branch of the constitution.* Having failed in the attempt to injure it by open force, they now proceeded to sap and undermine it by the diffusion of seditious libels, converting *the noble attributes of a free press* to the most dangerous and detestable purposes. H. r. h. the Commander in Chief was the principal object of their rancorous invective. To his prejudice facts were falsified, and motives attributed to him of which his very nature was incapable. As to the observation of the hon. gent. that the crown lawyers had not done their duty in not prosecuting libellers, he had only to say, that *it was not always easy to convict upon an obvious libel*, as a very small portion of legal knowledge united with some ingenuity, would be sufficient to defeat a prosecution. *When forbearance was stretched to its utmost point*, and prosecutions were commenced, the base libellers were found to have absconded. Scarce had the calumny of one of them proceeded from the press, when the calumniator was found to have withdrawn himself to America (*hear! hear!*). The motion of that night put the duke of York and the public in a new situation. It gave the subject a distinct turn, and he knew that that elevated personage would deprecate any proceeding that did not rest upon steps taken in the face of day.

After a few observations from Mr. Wardle, it was resolved that the House should on Wednesday next resolve itself into that Committee.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER then proposed, that the hon. gentleman should give in a list of the names of those witnesses he intended to call to substantiate his charge, that such persons might be summoned to attend at the bar of the House on Wednesday next.

Mr. WARDLE (after having gone to the table to make out his list of witnesses, returned to his seat) and said that he thought it would be attended with no inconvenience to defer mentioning the witnesses till Tuesday, when he should come down to the House prepared to furnish the House with the first part of the case he should proceed to prove, and a list of the witnesses whom it might be necessary to examine relative to that first charge.

SPANISH REVOLUTION. — *Palafax's Dispatch to the Central Junta.*—Dec. 3, 1808.—(continued from page 127.)

It was apprehended that, at this moment, they were proceeding to make an attack, with the whole of their force, in the direction of Casa Blanca; and such was the opinion of the troops stationed at that point, who, more cool and steady than even during any other part of the day, kept up their fire in the olive plantation through which the enemy were retreating, being, at the same time, on their guard lest it should prove a false retreat. But at four o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy filed off in the direction of Alagon, precipitately quitting the field of battle, and leaving behind a considerable quantity of provisions, some baggage, a number of musket locks, and various other articles of military stores. They sustained a considerable loss of men. On our side, we had only one killed, and a few wounded. All the troops and officers conducted themselves with gallantry and soldier-like intrepidity; and particularly general Don Felipe de Saint March, who upon this occasion displayed his military talents, and his characteristic judgment in the dispositions which he made to ensure the success of the action. The peasantry generously offered him their services, and are entitled to the highest praise, for the gallantry with which they saved themselves from a corps of cavalry that had surrounded them, killing one of the enemy's horse, and cutting their way through their troops. The division that was advancing by Zuera retreated before dark towards Tauste, where they arrived at dusk yesterday evening, traversing several rugged mountains and marching nine leagues in the course of the night and day. It is known that another division, of from eight to ten thousand men, who were, doubtless, coming to reinforce the army that attacked this city, passed yesterday though Alsamen, and are to join it on the other side of Alagon. This is all that I can at present communicate to your majesty.

Palafax's Proclamation to the Arragonese.—
Dec. 3, 1808.

THE country demands great sacrifices. She calls us to her assistance; she sees no other defenders but her children; we are her only support. We should violate our duty to her, and to ourselves, did we not

employ our arms and risk our lives and property, in order to save her. Noble Arragonese! brave soldiers! ever ready to shed your blood to defend her and your King, it is unnecessary for me to remind you of sacred duties which you have never forgotten, but the important charge which you have confided to me, and my anxious desires to fulfil my duty, and to make a just return to your attachment, do not permit me to leave unemployed any means that may contribute to deliver you from those perfidious wretches who, already setting themselves in opposition to our determinations, already indifferent to the grand cause which we are defending, give utterance to sentiments little conformable to our tried loyalty. I therefore ordain and command:—1. That all the inhabitants of this city, of every rank and condition, shall consider themselves bound to devote to its defence their persons, property, and lives: the rich and great lending a helping hand to the poor, fostering, and assisting them, contributing to cover their nakedness, and to enable them to maintain their respective posts; thus performing a sacred duty, enjoined by natural affection, and recommended by the holy religion which we profess; and, at the same time, remunerating them for the zeal with which they defend their lives, their estates, and their common country. Should any man be so unnatural as to disown their obligation, he shall be fined in proportion to the magnitude of his offence, and the amount of the fine shall be appropriated to the subsistence of the army.—

(To be continued.)

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